1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

603 is the grandmother who makes the distribution, each nuclear family receiving its proper share. When a mother goes on a visit to her own parents in a different village, it is customary for her to take her children with her, and thus they come to know the parents of their mother, and her maternal uncle, very well.

ADOPTION

597 The extended family provides a framework of social support for the nuclear family. Its importance in this respect is well exemplified when a childless couple want to adopt a child. The custom is to adopt, if possible, the son of one of the brothers of the husband, who is already a classificatory son and bears by right of birth the same clan name. If this is impossible, the next step is to seek a more remotely related classificatory son from a more distant branch of the husband's family, who, though not so closely related, does have the clan name and a male ancestor in common with his adoptive father. Only if no child of the same blood on the father's side is available is a child of different clan ancestry adopted. I once attended a ceremony of adoption in a case of this kind. The child was a Chinese boy being adopted by a Monguor named Kan 75—Kan being his clan name and 75 his personal name, given to him according to a common custom, because that was the age of his grandmother at the time he was born.[2] The child being adopted was a boy of five or six from a poor Chinese family named Liu, which had several boys and was on intimate terms with the family of Kan 75.

A sheep was killed for the ceremony. Those invited included the maternal uncle of Kan 75, one of his classificatory grandfathers, one of his own brothers, the chief of the village, a Chinese scribe, and myself. The boy was brought by his father, just before noon, and was clothed in rags. He was first taken to the kitchen, where he was washed, his hair combed, and he was fitted out with brand new clothes, boots, and hat. While this was being done, the Chinese scribe wrote a contract in two copies, attesting the fact that the boy was being freely given by the Liu family to be adopted by the Kan family. The contract was signed not only by the boy's father and the adopting father, but by the adopting father's maternal uncle, grandfather, brother, and the chief of the village.

The boy was then brought out and prostrated himself, making the *k'o-t'ou* nine times first to his new maternal uncle, then to his new classificatory great-grandfather, then to his new father and mother, then to his new father's brothers, including classificatory brothers.

The new father then asked his grandfather to give the boy a new and propitious name. The boy knelt

[2] A comparable custom is known in Outer Mongolia. The father of the Dilowa Hutukhtu was called 86—using, moreover, the Chinese, Bashiliu, not the Mongol, Nayanjurgan—because he was born when his father was 86. *Autobiography*, unpublished, of the Dilowa Hutukhtu.—O. L.

597 before him and was given the name "Tiger." The new father then led the boy to the family graveyard, taking with him some wine, steamed rolls, meat, paper, and sticks of incense. The boy knelt and honored the spirit of the earth with a libation of wine poured on the ground. He then honored his new ancestors, kneeling and prostrating himself and making a burnt offering of paper and incense. Returning home, the boy was congratulated by the guests who called him by his new name, and he in return honored all the guests as a group by prostrating himself nine times. The ceremonies concluded with a dinner for the guests. The boy was happy with his fine new clothes, and willing to stay with a family that was so much better off then the one into which he had been born. His father went home, driving a nice cow before him. The boy was to be considered not only as "belonging" to his new family, but as being descended from his new father's ancestors and as fully integrated into the family.

INTERPERSONAL BEHAVIOR IN THE FAMILY

596 576 264 The structure of a Monguor family can be clearly seen when a guest is entertained at dinner. Grandfather presides, sitting on the *k'ang* or heated sleeping-platform. Grandmother sits down only if invited by the guest to come up on the *k'ang*. If there is no guest, both grandfather and grandmother sit on the *k'ang*. The younger sons squat on their heels on the floor, in front of the *k'ang*, eating with chopsticks out of a bowl held in the left hand; the elder sons are allowed to sit on the edge of the *k'ang*. The staple of the meal is usually barley-flour noodles. Grandfather reaches out from the *k'ang* and puts some meat and vegetables in each bowl. Each, as he finishes his meal, licks his bowl clean and hands it to his wife to be washed. While the grandfather is sitting on the *k'ang*, none of the daughters-in-law may sit on the floor; they must remain standing.

576 272 It is disrespectful to present a cracked bowl to a guest. After the food has been eaten, tea is served in the same bowl. Whether food or tea is served, the bowl must always be filled to the brim. Bowls or dishes must always be presented with both hands. Tea is poured with the right hand, while the left hand is held toward the guest, palm upward.

576 606 291 One must never step over a person who is sleeping or lying down. Fathers and daughters-in-law must always keep some distance between them. When there is a quarrel in the family, the first reproach by a daughter-in-law is always that "distance has not been kept." This standard of propriety is common to Monguors and Chinese. A daughter-in-law is not allowed to appear before the elder generation or guests bareheaded or without wearing either a long gown or a skirt covering her trousered legs. Only when a daughter-in-law is visiting her own mother's home may she go bare-headed. In her husband's home she must always wear a gown

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

843 562 842 812 164 597

society are naturally reflected in popular religion. Special deities in the lama monasteries are supposed to be interested in these affairs of mankind. The Monguors often invite lamas to help them with prayers, make vows to go on pilgrimages to far distant monasteries if they are granted a son, and give alms lavishly. Their religious interpretation is that lack of sons is a punishment for sins of the parents in previous incarnations. The condition of a childless woman is pitiable—she is always despondent and dejected and drags out a miserable existence. Not having a son means having no stake in the family and society in which she lives. Her life is lonely, for it is not easy for a childless woman to make friends. I have often had a mother come to me with her childless daughter-in-law, kneeling, weeping, and begging for medicine that will make the girl bear a child, repeating over and over again "Father, the ancestors will have no one to sacrifice to them, the family will have no posterity." Such pitiful scenes gave me an understanding of the social outlook of the people among whom I lived; I could even understand why they indulged in polygamy.

Childlessness is not common among the Monguors, however. On the contrary, a Monguor woman will frequently have six or more surviving children—an astonishingly large number, considering the great amount of hard work that the mother has to do and the fact that, owing to ignorance of the most elementary rules of hygiene, lack of doctors, and miscarriages, fully a third of the children die in early infancy. The Monguors are in fact much more prolific than their kinsmen who are still nomads. One reason for this may be the fact that they live in houses while the children of nomads living in tents are more exposed to variations of temperature. Probably a more important reason is that there is less venereal disease among the Monguors than among nomads. The lamas, most of whom are promiscuous in spite of their vows, and great carriers of venereal disease, have less opportunity to indulge themselves in the crowded and public dwellings of the Monguors than they do among the scattered tents of the nomads.[24] The neighboring Tibetans have a very high opinion of the prolificness of the Monguors. When they are childless, they prefer to adopt a Monguor boy rather than one of their own stock, and they like to marry Monguor girls because they bear more children. The Monguors have no objection to giving a girl to a Tibetan family, especially if it is a rich family.

[24] In view of the fact that venereal disease is much less common, and families much larger, among the settled agricultural Mongols of southern and eastern Inner Mongolia than among the nomad Mongols, it is also probable that the transition from nomadism to agriculture among the Monguors has led to a stricter morality. When land becomes the principal form of property, the man who owns land wants to make sure that the son who inherits it is his legitimate son, whereas among pastoral Mongols a son, regardless of legitimacy, is a new herdsman, making it possible to look after an increased number of stock.—O. L.

/124 cont'd/

608 583 they get a husband for her, and they hope that the couple will stay with their benefactors to serve them until their death. This is then the foremost case which occurs with the least chance of success, since the feelings of this stranger will not be comparable to those of a daughter of their own. If there is no hope for them of great material advantages, the couple ends up by going away.

4. Furnishing of One's Person by Adoption in Order to Obtain a Wife

597 583 606 In this category we see the principle of the patriarchate triumphing. This fourth combination is one found in rather rich families who have only one daughter and who adopt a son-in-law in order to give him as a husband to their daughter. The purpose of this arrangement, according to the T'ou-jen, is not to be separated from their daughter and to make her and the son-in-law their lawful heirs.

Now so that this may be possible in a patriarchal system, the son-in-law must exchange his family name for that of his parents-in-law. He must separate himself radically from his own parents and clan in order to recognize his parents-in-law and all /125/ their clan as his own. He must give himself completely to this family, he must make offerings to their ancestors, and in this way he will be able to continue the family line, and at his death be buried in their cemetery. This is, then, the furnishing of services for life at the same time as that of oneself in all its breadth.

From this it is understandable that such an arrangement must raise difficulties on the part of the family; so a whole series of formalities is required in order to bring it about. The father of the family begins by inviting his brothers and announcing his irrevocable decision. So that they will sign the contract of adoption and admit the new son-in-law into the family circle, he will propose bequeathing to them several plots of land after his death; the rest of the holdings will have to fall to the son-in-law and his wife. All that does not proceed without long discussions. Finally, the contract of adoption is signed on the occasion of a family dinner, where the son-in-law makes the great prostration to his new parents; he bows to the religious image honored in the house and burns cypress branches; his

Mo 597 606 583

/125 cont'd/
name is inscribed in the family register in the presence of the whole family; he goes to the clan cemetery to make offerings to the ancestors of his new parents, and goes to the village pagoda to venerate the loca deities, protectors of his adoptive family. (1) This arrange-

Ma [597 858]

1.. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 61: The adoption of men (among the Manchu) is practised only for children. When the child becomes 6-7 years old the couple who adopt it organize a sacrifice to their clan spirits. They declare to the spirits and to the child adopted, that such and such person is adopted in the clan, and that this person leaves his former clan and spirits and enters into this clan. /Cited in English; French interpolation in parentheses/.

ment presents all the necessary guarantees for a serious and lasting union... but at the price of what sacrifices on the part of the son-in-law.

/126/

Chapter III

Abnormal Marriage

Mo 588

We have seen all the troubles brought on by marriages of girls exchanged for the furnishing either of the person of the son-in-law or his services for a fixed period or for life. Nevertheless, this whole series of marriages is more or less understandable to the European mind; the two series of alliances which follow no longer are. They are the marriages:

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

of Hsining, 31*b*, 33*a*. *Sung Shih* 492: 14*a–b*). In 1065 Chiossulo appointed Tung Chan chief of the tribes. He governed 600,000 subjects. The emperor ratified the appointment in 1068, granted to the new chief the titles previously bestowed upon the father, and seized the opportunity to send Chinese officials to help him administer Huangchung. Tung Chan was a faithful defender of the empire. When the Hsi Hsia in 1070 invaded East Kansu, he attacked them, thus breaking the impact of the invasion. In 1081, 120,000 of his troops fought the Hsi Hsia at the side of the imperial armies. He and his wife were repeatedly bestowed with more and more honorific titles. The Hsi Hsia tried to persuade him to transfer his allegiance to them, but he refused the offer. Thereupon the Hsi Hsia invaded Huangchung and laid siege to his city of Mao-ch'uan. He raised the siege making peace with the Hsi Hsia against the orders of the emperor. He died in 1086 (*Annals* of Hsining, 31*b*, 33*b*. *Annals* of Kansu 46: 11*b*. *Sung Shih* 492: 16*b*).

Jealousy and hatred long smoldered among the wives of Chiossulo. At the death of the lama Li Li-tsun, the dismissed minister, Chiossulo, to humiliate his daughter, had moved her to Kuo Chou, and then a large number of tribes of the Li clan had seceded and moved to the southern part of East Kansu. In 1057, advised by her brother, she had left Kuo Chou and fled with her sons to the city of Tsun K'o, situated in the main territory of the Li clan. Chiossulo, in order to avoid more trouble with the powerful Li clan, appointed her sons as chiefs of the tribes of Ni-ku and T'ao and Ho-chou in East Kansu and the emperor granted them official titles.

However, hatred was already too deeply embedded in the hearts of the Li clan, and Mou Cheng, son of the second wife of Chiossulo, started trouble in East Kansu in 1064, conniving with the Hsi Hsia. The Hsi Hsia were defeated and Mou Cheng submitted to the emperor and received new important titles. At the death of Chiossulo in 1065, Mou Cheng, the leader of the opposition, followed by an important number of clans and in connivance with the Hsi Hsia, was again on the warpath in 1072 in East Kansu. More Chinese armies arrived, cities were taken and retaken, and the wife of Mou Cheng and his children were taken prisoner by General Wang Ch'ao. East Kansu was laid waste. Finally after two years of destruction, Mou Cheng with eighteen chiefs of tribes submitted to China. Again more new important titles were granted to him and even the name of the Sung dynasty, Chao, was bestowed (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 10, 12. *Annals* of Hsining 31B: 33, 3, 4, 5. *Sung Shih* 492: 14, 16).

The legitimate son of Tung Chan having died, he appointed in 1086 as his successor, A li ku, the son of his beloved concubine, a boy born in Khotan from an unknown father, causing forever the ruin of the T'u-fan kingdom built by Tung Chan. The emperor ratified

[P.20 (A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

II. THE CHRONICLES OF THE LU CLAN

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Chronicles of families are important historical documents, for they record trustworthy facts not included in the official histories.

In the present chronicle of the Lu clan are recorded the origin of the clan, its relations with the empire, the military art of the time, the civil and military administration, the laws of succession in the t'u-ssu family, the history of the inroads of barbarians and brigands in the country, etc.

I was happy to come into possession of these Chronicles in 1916, thanks to the kindness of General Ma K'o-ch'eng of Hsining. At that time rumors were persistently spread about the abolition of the t'u-ssu institution by the new Republic (1911). The widow of T'u-ssu Lu, a Mongol Khoshot lady, daughter of the Prince of Alashan, administered the tribe, keeping the seal, and caring for her young son. In order to ensure the succession of her son to the office of his father, she had traveled to Hsining to solicit the help of the powerful general by inviting him to be so kind as to become the boy's adoptive father, and at the same time offering him precious gifts. The general accepted the offer, and a few days later the boy arrived at Hsining to recognize the general as his father and to prostrate himself three times before him. Knowing this fact, I asked my friend the general to obtain the Chronicles for me, and so they came into my possession.

NATURE OF THE CHRONICLES

The Chronicles, written in Chinese, consist of two small xylographic volumes. The first one consists of two sections. The first section, only 2 pages, contains a preface and the lists of the genealogies of the chiefs of the tribe to the fifteenth generation. The second section, 52 pages, starts with a preface followed by the records concerning the imperial orders sent to the clan chiefs, the titles and promotions received by them, the inroads of barbarians and brigands into their country, and the wars in which they participated until 1850.

The second volume, 20 pages, the third section of the Chronicles, starts with a preface and presents the biographies of the fifteen t'u-ssu who successively controlled the clan until 1850.

Both volumes start with the accession of the Ming dynasty in 1368 and end in 1850 on the death of the fifteenth ancestor of the clan. To each of the two volumes are added two pages, written in Chinese with a pencil, relating facts from 1851 to 1896 and adding the biographies of the sixteenth and seventeenth ancestors. The Chronicles of the Lu Clan given on page 74 seq. are a translation from the Chinese of the two xylographic volumes referred to above.

175x
[14]
[97]
175x
114
[P. 70(A)]